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WEEKLY PEOPLE



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PRICE TWO CENTS

LABOR'S BATTLES IN CALIFORNIA

THE TIMES BOYCOTT IN LOS ANGELES

That which holds the center of the stage in the labor circles of Southern California, the effects of which are felt throughout the United States, is the fight of the International Typographical Union against the Los Angeles Times. The Times is probably the only large influential capitalist daily which does not recognize the I. T. U. The fight is of long standing, and is not waged for the purpose of bettering the conditions of the employees of the Times but that members of the I. T. U. may get the jobs in the Times plant.

The editors of the Times and the Herald, both morning papers, are bitter personal enemies, and recently had a fight in the Los Angeles Theatre, Wm. Hardison, of the Herald, assaulting H. G. Otis of the Times. The Times has powerful financial backing, The Herald has rarely been able to keep above water.

About two years ago A. Hamburger Sons, who own the largest department store in Los Angeles, withdrew their advertising patronage from The Herald and increased their space in The Times. This was a serious blow to The Herald, which could ill afford to lose anything. Something must be done; something was done, and thereby hangs a tale of interest to all workingmen in Southern California whether union or non-union, and which, if understood, will be a lesson which will enable workingmen to understand where their enemies lie, and where their enemies are at.

The Herald then fanned the smoldering flame of the fight of the I. T. U. against its successful rival, The Times, and became the champion of the local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Shortly after a committee from the Council of Labor requested A. Hamburger Sons to withdraw its advertisement from The Times, Hamburger refused, and then both The Times and Hamburger's store were boycotted by the Council of Labor. Hamburger's store was picketed, to see that no union men traded there, the members of the Retail Clerks' Union and other union men remaining at work while all the workingmen of Southern California, especially members of unions connected with the Council of Labor, were requested to wear buttons with the inscription "I don't read the Los Angeles Times." Some unions imposed heavy fines upon members for not wearing them.

Here we must introduce another element which participated in this economic tragedy, a gang of grafters and labor fakirs, "human parasites" who live from the dues, assessments, donations and fines, fleeced from the innocent and class-conscious rank and file of the unions affiliated with the Council of Labor. L. W. Rogers, editor of the Union Labor News, a private paper, a slick mild-voiced labor fakir, and the deserter of a poor wife, with several children, one unborn, F. Gregory, ex-convict and labor fakir, Lemuel Biddle ex-Social Democrat, secretary of Council of Labor and labor fakir; J. Lynch and A. Hays, officers of the I. T. U., labor fakirs with \$30,000 to fight The Times with and incidentally brace themselves; Jim Gray, ex-president of the Council of Labor, general ignoramus on the labor question, could not tell the difference between actual wages and a baseball bat, all around conceited bully, and slick labor fakir; and a number of lesser lights, including bogus Socialists of the J. Stitt Wilson and Walter Mills variety.

This is the gang which did the dirty work for The Herald; they lined up all the union men under the threats of fines, etc., against The Times; and on Labor Day they passed in review in front of The Herald, to have their pic-

tures taken, and yelled "What's the matter with the Herald? It's all right," until they were hoarse.

Here we must digress to explain the rights of labor, the principles of bona fide trades unionism, so that the lesson to be learned by honest workingmen from this two years of economic tragedy will be understood. Later we will connect where we have broken off.

Society is divided into two distinct classes, the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class owns the mills, mines, factories, railroads, etc.; in fact, generally speaking, it owns all the social tools of production, distribution, and exchange, and controls the reins of government, both judiciary and executive. This class is few in number, but with its emissaries, the politicians and labor fakirs, is able to keep the working class in ignorance and exploit it. The capitalist class lives from rent, interest, and profit; does no useful work, but of course, like the pickpocket the capitalist is ever very busy scheming how to increase his income by wrecking some other capitalist, or intensifying the work of his employees, decreasing their actual wages; in fact, this modern coupon-clipping capitalist looks upon the working class as his natural prey, to exploit, cajole, throw out of employment, when not needed, or too old; throw in prison when found out of work and penniless, and, if the worker organizes a union for his protection, it is called a lawless conspiracy; should he strike for more of the wealth he produces he is shot by the militia under the guise of capitalist law and order, this militia being composed of sons of the rich, and deluded workingmen (filled with bombastic patriotism by lawyers and stay-at-home heroes in Fourth of July orations), who seek to satisfy their cruel blood-thirsty desires by shooting workingmen. But the capitalist class, like the feudal barons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are fast digging their own grave. Blind, drunk with wealth, power, and success, fighting among themselves, and becoming fewer in numbers, their government becomes more corrupt with postoffice scandals. St. Louis bribery cases, prostitution, crime and disease prevalent everywhere, reveling in blind arrogance with the stolen wealth they have sweated from the working class, theirs will be a sad awakening, when the working class aroused to their rights, clothed with the intelligence and class-consciousness, imbued from the teachings of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a union which has for its work the educating and drilling of the workers, to strike both on the economic and political field; to teach the workers that, instead of the capitalist supporting the worker, it is the worker who produces abundantly for the capitalist, and receives a small portion called wages in return; that, instead of there being any love between them, their interests are essentially antagonistic and cannot be smoothed over capitalist rule; that the interest of all workers, regardless of race, creed, sex or skill, are identical, and that they must unite solidly, aware of their common class interests, and vote solidly for the working class program of the Socialist Labor Party.

If the capitalist class were to embark on the ocean, by accident be wrecked and drowned, the workers would be better off. Should the same fate overtake the working class the capitalists would have to go to work. This is merely a figurative illustration to show that it is not the capitalist who supports the worker, but the worker who supports the capitalist.

Labor, with aid of machinery and natural resources, produces all wealth, and, since machinery is the product of the human race for countless ages past, and the earth is free for all and a gift of nature, it follows that both tools of production and natural resources are the social inheritance of the human race, and, therefore, the human race and not a few individuals should own it, and all wealth should belong to its producer-labor.

Take a walk through Los Angeles. In fine mansions, amid grand scenery, you will find the sleek capitalist who rides in carriages and automobiles, eats in fine glittering restaurants, the picture of health and contentment. The workingmen you will find in crowded districts, he walks, eats at the cheap lunch counters, or "hits the punk" with his "full dinner pail." In fact, the social contrast and class distinction, between capitalist and worker, should be apparent to every thinking workingman.

We can now take up the explanation of the local labor situation where we broke off.

By the light of the class distinctions explained above it can easily be seen that the owners of the Times, Herald, and Hamburger's store belong in the same category, viz.: the capitalist class.

They are employers of labor and live by scheming and pocketing dividends. As such, when there is any fight between capitalists, it is criminal on the part of

mines, factories, and schools of capitalism, are yet governed by capitalist ideals. They have not yet learned the connection between economics and politics. Bitterly as they fight capitalist oppression on the economic field, by forming unions, striking and boycotting, they do not understand that their economic freedom, consisting of equal opportunity to employment and receiving therefor the full social value of their toil, can only be accomplished by their political supremacy.

This capitalist environment and education, coupled with the false economics taught by the pure and simple trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and K. of L., i. e., that capital and labor (meaning capitalist and laborer) are brothers, and that things can be so adjusted under capitalism as to be satisfactory to both, make the workers, as yet, easy victims of capitalist politicians; but:

"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient truths uncouth.
'We must e'er be up and doing,
If we'd keep abreast of truth."

The educational work of the Socialist Labor Party has brought about the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, a union which has for its work the educating and drilling of the workers, to strike both on the economic and political field; to teach the workers that, instead of the capitalist supporting the worker, it is the worker who produces abundantly for the capitalist, and receives a small portion called wages in return; that, instead of there being any love between them, their interests are essentially antagonistic and cannot be smoothed over capitalist rule; that the interest of all workers, regardless of race, creed, sex or skill, are identical, and that they must unite solidly, aware of their common class interests, and vote solidly for the working class program of the Socialist Labor Party.

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Workingmen! We are many, the capitalists are few. On election day we have a hundred votes to one of theirs; on the economic field they can starve us into submission by closing the factories. We have thousands of stomachs to feed with very little means, while the capitalist has few with billions of dollars to fall back on. Unless a strike on the economic field is followed up by united action on the political field, no lasting good can be accomplished. A class-conscious education and universal solidarity must be instilled into the labor movement. Ignorance is our worst enemy, instead of depending on blase, bombastic misleaders of labor, we must study and depend upon ourselves. Instead of fighting, striking, and organizing unions 365 days in the year and on election day going and voting our enemy's representatives into power, we must also vote class-conscious workingmen into power.

Instead of having a Federation of Labor that allows its members to belong to the militia, and be hauled to scenes

of strikes by union railroaders, to shoot down brother unionists (cases of this kind happen frequently in the A. F. of L.), we must have a well disciplined and educated body which insists on solidarity, standing together and giving no aid to the capitalist class in any shape or form.

The economic field of labor is the real stage of life. When at the theater, while you get greatly agitated, still you can rest assured that when the curtain goes down those that have been killed, injured, betrayed and victimized are safe, but on the field of labor, when workingmen are killed or injured in the mills, mines, or factories of capitalism, betrayed or victimized by modern Judases like the Rogers, Gregory, Biddle, Gray and Lynch crowd, they suffer in all its cruel reality. All the wealth and libraries (the very stones of which ring with the blood of workingmen killed in his mills), donated by Carnegie will not bring back the fathers and brothers killed in his mills; neither will the bombastic hot air speeches, ignorance or hypocritical actions of workingmen assuming leadership of pure and simple unions, clothed in the sacred robe of labor, allay the suffering and reaction they cause. History is replete with betrayals and corruption, the numerous Judas Iscariots, and Benedict Arnolds, furnish the most blood-curdling records of the past. And present day news brings others to light almost daily. The only thing we workingmen can do, to guard against onslaughts from without, and treachery from within our ranks, is to educate our class to a realization of their class interests, every individual working person whether union or non-union, regardless of race, religion, or sex, should study to understand their position in society.

Had the workers employed by the Times or Hamburger's shown some rebellious spirit and made a demand or went on strike, there would have been some justification in the present boycott, but in the light of what is going on in the pure and simple trade unions throughout the country, viz., the corruption unearthed in New York, where several walking delegates have been indicted for blackmail and extortion, the ex-treasurer and walking delegate of the stonecutters getting five years in prison for stealing \$27,000 from his union, other internal fights in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc., where members of one union are inveigled into fighting members of another union, like the fight of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners against the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, etc.—in the light of these facts, would it be impudent to ask how much our local grafters and labor (mis)leaders, viz., ex-Convict Gregory, Deserter Rogers, Doolittle Biddle, Slippery Wilson, and the rest of the parasites on the local body of labor not for this job? How much of that thirty-thousand never was used to fight the Times but stopped over en route? We might also ask why were not all the local advertisers in the Times boycotted? Those who advertised in both the Herald and Times were all right, those who did not advertise in the Herald were wrong. The nigger in the woodpile is out. The union and non-union men of Southern California can now see how these labor fakirs in quest of easy graft, viz.: strike donations, high initiation fees, strike assessments, etc., have betrayed the rank and file into a useless sham battle for the last two years.

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10th and same carefully noted. Our manager will be down your way in the course of ten days or two weeks, and will take this question up with you in person. It is almost impossible for us to give you what information you ask for by mail. However, we can say this: We will put a thorough mechanic in your plant, machinists or moulder, or a man who is an American Federation of Labor man, who will be an unskilled laborer, but would be more able to get among the different people in your plant, while we can put in a moulder's helper or a chopper.

It all depends upon where you want to get the information from the worst and what line of trade is likely to give you the most concern. If we put a man in your plant he would furnish you with all the union information that is going on in his particular line; keep you thoroughly posted as to union conditions in your town, and find out just exactly how the different unions felt in regard to your plant, and you will be in possession of advance information as regards any strikes or lockouts. He would also keep you posted as to agitators in your shop, giving you such information as would be of service to you in getting rid of such men in your plant as were troublesome to you and the men associated with them. We do not know the size of your plant, and therefore could not suggest how many men you might want or how many different trades it would be well to represent this way. These men we send you are thoroughly posted in their line of business, and can report to you direct or they send their report to us and we copy it and send it to you. Our men are always conservative in their talk, taking the conservative side of an argument pertaining to the matters above mentioned; and, with the information you would have at hand, if you make proper use of it, would keep your shop in peace and harmony.

The price of these men would be: for moulders or machinists, \$175 per month; for all other classes of help, \$150 per month. From this is deducted what money is paid to these men in the shops, where they work. Wages received for overtime and Sundays not deducted. This would cover all the expenses attached to these men except their railroad fare to and from Cleveland, Ohio.

This is about all we can give you by mail. Will say that all of our men are educated in our work, and upon receiving an order from manufacturers we are not in a position to fill them immediately, but transfer one of our men from such position as we are able to take him and put him in your plant. This sometimes takes quite a while—from three to four weeks. While at other times, where men have just closed a contract, we are in position to send them at once.

If the above meets your ideas and approval we would like to hear from you at a very early date. We desire to say further that this price applies only to contracts existing for not less than one month. For shorter time than one month there is an additional charge.

The men we would send you would be thoroughly capable of talking the matter over with you. We even go farther than this system of Education, but do not care to mention it all in letter. We hope you can see your way clear to favor us with a contract at as early date, and assure you we would give you the best service in every particular. Yours truly,

The Corporations Auxiliary Co.

By Matt. M. Smith, V. P.
P. S.—We inclose you herewith contract. If you desire to accept the same please let us know at once, and we will send our man on as soon as possible.

Mr. Apthorp, Matt. M. Smith, J. W. Smith,
V. P., Secy.

THE CORPORATIONS AUXILIARY COMPANY,

Chamber of Commerce Building,
Cleveland, O., July 13, 1903.

(Personal and Confidential.)

Mr. L. E. Whiton,
Sec. The D. E. Whiton Machine Co.,
New London, Conn.

Dear Sir: We will place in your plant at New London, Conn., one of our representatives for the purpose of checking the general labor conditions there, for the sum of \$150 per month, except machinists and moulders, they to receive \$175 per month, and the representative's railroad fare from Cleveland to New London, Conn., and return; payment to date from the time representative leaves Cleveland office until his return to Cleveland office.

This representative is to be and is to be placed upon the pay roll of the shop he may be employed in at the same wages as other workmen in his class are receiving, and whatever wages are paid to this man in this matter are to be deducted from the above mentioned sum of per month. Wages earned by this representative by working overtime or on Sundays and holidays not to be deducted.

This rate is to apply only to a contract of not less than one month. Subject to this condition: this contract is subject to termination at the end of any calendar month by either party upon not less than fifteen days previous written notice.

It is understood that we will leave the same operator at your plant as long as possible, but should he insist on leaving or we be compelled to withdraw him, then we agree to give you notice as early as possible before he leaves and send another operator in his place as promptly as we can, and a few days before if possible.

We are sending you this letter in duplicate. If you will kindly mark one of the copies "Accepted" and return to us it will be a sufficient contract between us. Awaiting the prompt return of your

acceptance, we remain, yours truly,
The Corporations Auxiliary Co.
Accepted. By Matt. M. Smith, V. P.

Notes.

In accordance with this Corporations Auxiliary Company's letter of July 13, and before its receipt had been acknowledged, the writer was called by telephone at about 4 o'clock Saturday p. m., July 18, by Mr. J. H. Smith, manager, who gave his name, said that he represented the Corporations Auxiliary Company, and with my permission would come over to the office for a personal interview.

He called shortly after, and gave a detailed story of the work in which he was engaged.

Mr. Smith came up from New York, and had with him a copy of the above letter and contract which I had received from Cleveland.

The substance of Mr. Smith's story was practically as follows:

He said he had been in this business for seventeen years; for the past three years as a corporation under the present name; for six years previously as a partnership; and before that his partner and himself had been separately engaged in the same line.

He said his company operated three departments:

Firat—A Publication Department, publishing a Quarterly Bulletin, which they bound in annual volumes of which he showed me a copy), and that they circulated a great deal of literature. Evidently this Publication Department is a cloak to cover up the other departments when this is advisable.

Second—A Legislative Department, where watch was kept upon obnoxious legislation, either "labor" or other—i. e., they watched all classes of legislation which was in opposition to the interests of their clients.

Third—Industrial Inspection, or secret service work, principally in controlling and directing labor unions. In this line they did any kind of work which best suited the interests and desires of their clients, from breaking up unions to simply running them quietly and avoiding trouble.

He said that many Shop Committee men in large shops were their men.

That many local officers in the larger cities, and C. L. U. delegates were their men.

That there was hardly ever a state or national convention of any union but that some of their men were delegates, and in some cases their men were national officers.

That in this way they got first news of proposed labor laws, etc., and used this news to arrange opposition to such laws when it was advisable.

He claimed that the Corporations Auxiliary Company had absolute control of the situation in many centers. In some large cities (probably New York) things were pretty much stirred up just now, but were coming their way all right.

He said that at first their business was very largely with the big railroads and mines; afterward with large corporations and street railways and now they were making more contracts than ever before with many new enterprises, which took on one or two of their men simply as an insurance against trouble.

He asked how many men we were going to employ, and thought our foundry enterprise was going to be so small that we couldn't afford to make the contract just by ourselves; but that very often they made a sort of combination of the manufacturers in a town and put in two or three "inside men" in some of the largest shops, and one or two "outside men" to work the streets and saloons, and could "deliver the goods" every time.

The writer deferred final consideration and put the matter off because we were not yet quite ready to start up, but would let them hear from us about it later on.

Mr. Smith sat near the writer's desk and mostly spoke in a low tone of voice, but a stenographer was present at an adjoining desk in the same office, and made the following notes of remarks by Mr. Smith:

"Wherever you find an Iron Moulder's Union, you will find trouble. I know what I am speaking about now; this is my practical experience."

"We have delegates to the National Conventions of the labor unions. We know what is going on."

"We can keep your men out of the union, if you are not in it; if you are in a thoroughly organized union we can keep it from running away with you."

"Yes; our men have to be very careful; and you have to be careful not to do anything to give them away."

"They are just like a flock of sheep. We only have to have a few leaders. The rest will always follow."

"Our work is mostly with shops having a large number of men. We could not work as effectively with you with only a small number."

Mr. Smith claimed to have a force of several hundred men which they directed from Cleveland. Most of their men were sent from Cleveland, which was their main office, although they had working offices in several large cities.

He said they had only one trouble which they could not help; occasionally one of their men would drink too much and get too talkative. Whenever they found it out, they always dropped that man.

A commercial agency report was sent for, which stated that the Corporations Auxiliary Company was incorporated under Ohio laws in January, 1902, with an authorized capital of \$25,000, all subscribed and paid in cash, and succeeded a copartnership. The president is an ex-Railroad Commissioner of Ohio. The

vice president and the manager devote their entire time to the company's business, and are men of some ability. The company has a well appointed office in the Chamber of Commerce Building, but no other visible assets.

Before leaving, Mr. Smith gave me a copy of their Bulletin, and an assortment of circulars, and said that he would call on me again regarding it when we were ready.

Throughout the interview Mr. Smith's manner was that of a man thoroughly familiar with his business and perfectly confident of his ability to fulfill his contracts.

The writer afterward sent the following acknowledgment of the letter and call, to which no reply has been made:

New London, Conn., U. S. A., July 21, 1903.—Mr. Matt. M. Smith, V. P.

The Corporations Auxiliary Company, Cleveland, O.: Dear Sir—I acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., and also a call on the 18th inst., in relation to this general subject, from your Mr. J. H. Smith, who has given me much additional information.

I am not in sympathy with the methods which you have explained so fully, and regard them as directly opposed to the best social welfare. In fact, I am unavoidably led to conclude from circumstances which have come to my knowledge, and by your explanations, that there is also a radical side in opposition to what your letter terms the "conservative side" of this secret service work.

I shall not inquire regarding the Radical side; but must remark that a tremendous responsibility rests somewhere for the suffering and crimes and bloodshed and murders which have accompanied recent great strikes. The Cleveland assassin of McKinley may have been prompted to his criminal act by the talk of some of these "Radical" agents. The possibility that is true places an additional moral responsibility upon those who have employed such secret agents, and I shall consider it my duty as a citizen to oppose as actively as possible the methods which you have explained so fully.

I enclose some leaflets and small pamphlets touching on this general question, which you may be interested to look over.

Why not join openly and earnestly in a direct campaign for good government for all citizens, instead of operating a spotter system for the benefit of small and selfish class? Certainly a "spotter" is not much better than a "scab," even if he does carry a union card. Yours very truly, L. E. Whiton, Secy.

COMMENTS.

Every large city is the center of many influences, some of which are good and some evil. Cleveland is a beautiful city, located in the "Connecticut Western Reserve," and is the home of many Connecticut people; so, of course, there can be no intentional reflection in these comments by a citizen of Connecticut upon that city as a municipality. This fact may partially account for its industrial and political prominence, and it may even be easily manipulated for political, and even for large speculative purposes (such as the great coal strike), by secret service methods.

Everyone really acquainted with the desires and motives of the great mass of workingmen in this country knows that these real wants and motives are expressed by the words "A fair deal and equal opportunity;" and that the class antagonism and hatreds which now exist in many places do not grow naturally out of our American institutions.

Such observers are forced to conclude that these antagonisms have been directly fostered by paid agents, in order to create a great organization which would work together and which could be easily manipulated for political, and even for large speculative purposes (such as the great coal strike), by secret service methods.

Nearly everybody will admit that men who advertise their willingness to undertake lying and deception as a business are generally ready to lie and deceive for the sake which pays the most money. This, of course, suggests questions as to who can afford to employ lying and deceptive methods, and as to how such people get their money back. The significance of locality is mentioned only because it strongly indicates the possible common aim and origin of the various activities which are referred to. In considering the correspondence which is here made public, in its relation to a large question, the following significant circumstances ought not to be overlooked:

A prominent influence is "practical politics," which has been closely associated with some large industrial enter-

prises, and friendly to all legislation favoring "the great combinations of capital commonly called trusts," has been "at home" in Cleveland.

Previous to last October the newspapers mentioned frequent interviews between some of the most prominent labor leaders of the country and the politicians and financiers identified with these trusts, many of these interviews being reported from Cleveland.

Since the completion of the work of the Coal Strike Commission, the labor union representative on this commission (who was reported to have been originally appointed after conference with this Cleveland political influence, and who is a member of the Order of Railway Conductors) has received a political appointment, presumably at an attractive salary, in the new Department of Commerce.

Mr. L. E. Whiton, Secy.

D. E. Whiton Machine Co., New London, Conn.

Dear Sir: Your letter of July 21st, in which you express disapproval of this company's work and especially the secret service feature of it, is before me upon my return from my Eastern and Southern trip.

Cleveland, O., Aug. 8, 1903.

Mr. L. E. Whiton, Secy.

D. E. Whiton Machine Co., New London, Conn.

Dear Sir: Your letter of July 21st, in which you express disapproval of this company's work and especially the secret service feature of it, is before me upon my return from my Eastern and Southern trip.

Clarence S. Darrow, of counsel for the Miners' Union before the Coal Strike Commission, has recently been quoted as having said, "There is a peril in the growing friendship between large operators and labor leaders."

The positions of Mr. Darrow have lately referred to in a somewhat heated manner by Mr. Gompers, in the American Federationist for July, under the title "Mr. Darrow's Errors."

The national headquarters of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, one of the "conservative" labor organizations, which a recent editorial says has "sometimes been accused by other unions of working for the employers," is located in Cleveland, where its chief had resided until his recent death.

A commercial agency report was sent for, which stated that the Corporations Auxiliary Company was incorporated under Ohio laws in January, 1902, with an authorized capital of \$25,000, all subscribed and paid in cash, and succeeded a copartnership. The president is an ex-Railroad Commissioner of Ohio. The

vice president and the manager devote their entire time to the company's business, and are men of some ability. The company has a well appointed office in the Chamber of Commerce Building, but no other visible assets.

Before leaving, Mr. Smith gave me a copy of their Bulletin, and an assortment of circulars, and said that he would call on me again regarding it when we were ready.

The "Civic Federation," under the domination of these friendly organizations, is apparently also a Cleveland idea.

The president of The Corporations Auxiliary Company, of Cleveland, which solicits contracts from manufacturers to furnish union and non-union men and women of all trades for secret service work, and to assist them in making up black lists, was formerly an Ohio railroad commissioner, this fact being sufficient (if Ohio is like Connecticut) to establish the political nature of some of the work of this company.

A circular issued by this Corporations Auxiliary Company refers to the resolution of Max Hayes, the "Radical Socialist from Cleveland," in the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, and makes the "confident prediction" that the trades union movement will probably be entirely dominated by Socialists before the next American Federation of Labor convention.

The "Civic Federation," under the domination of these friendly organizations, is apparently also a Cleveland idea.

The president of The Corporations Auxiliary Company, of Cleveland, which solicits contracts from manufacturers to furnish union and non-union men and women of all trades for secret service work, and to assist them in making up black lists, was formerly an Ohio railroad commissioner, this fact being sufficient (if Ohio is like Connecticut) to establish the political nature of some of the work of this company.

Yours truly,

The Corporations Auxiliary Co., By J. H. Smith, V. P.

New London, Conn., Aug. 10, 1903.

The Corporations Auxiliary Company, Mr. J. H. Smith, Vice-President,

Cleveland, O.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of August 8th, and note its contents carefully.

The questions in debate are large ones and can be finally settled only in light of complete public knowledge and discussion.

Yours truly,

The Corporations Auxiliary Co., By J. H. Smith, V. P.

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Cleveland, O.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of August 8th, and note its contents carefully.

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty.

Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

Semistresses, female tailors, milliners, factory girls by the hundreds of thousands find themselves in similar plight. Employers and their subalterns—merchants, mill owners, landlords, etc., who keep female hands and employees, frequently consider it a sort of privilege to find these women handy to administer to their lusts. Our pious and conservative folks love to represent the rural districts as truly idyllic in point of morality, compared with the large cities and industrial centers. Everyone acquainted with the actual state of things knows that it is not so; and the fact was evidenced by the address, delivered by a baronial landlord of Saxony in the fall of 1889, reported as follows in the papers of the place:

"GERMANY.—Baron Dr. v. Waechter of Roeknitz recently delivered an address, before a diocese meeting that took place here, upon the subject of 'Sexual Immorality in Our Rural Communities.' Local conditions were not presented by him in a rosy color. The speaker admitted with great candor that employers, even married ones, are frequently in very intimate relations with their female domestics, the consequences of which were either cancelled with cash, or were removed from the eyes of the world through a crisis. The fact could, unfortunately, not be cloaked over, that immorality was nursed in these communities, not alone by girls, who, as nurses in cities, had taken in the poison, or by fellows, who made its acquaintance in the military service, but that, and to say, also the cultured classes, through the stewards of manorial estates, and through the officers on the occasions of field manoeuvres, carried law principles of morality into the country districts. According to Dr. v. Waechter, there are actually here in the country few girls who reach the age of seventeen without having fallen." The open-hearted speaker's love of truth was answered with a social boycott, placed upon him by the officers who felt insulted. The *jus primae noctis* of the medieval feudal lord continues in another form in these very days of ours.

The majority of prostitutes are thrown into the arms of this occupation at a time when they can hardly be said to have arrived at the age of discretion. Of 2,552 girls, arrested in Paris for the secret practice of prostitution, 1,500 were minors; of 607 others, 487 had been deflowered before the age of twenty. In September, 1894, a scandal of first rank took the stage in Budapest. It appeared that about 400 girls of from twelve to fifteen years fell prey to a band of rich rakes. The sons of our "proper and cultured classes" generally consider it an attribute of their rank to seduce the daughters of the people, whom they then leave in the lurch. Only too readily do the trustful daughters of the people, untroubled in life and experience, and generally joyless and friendless, fall a prey to the seduction that approaches them in brilliant and seductive guise. Disillusion, then sorrows, finally crime,—such are the sequels. Of 1,546,171 live births in Germany in 1891, 172,456 were illegitimate. Only conjure up the volume of worry and heartaches prepared for a great number of these mothers, by the birth of their illegitimate children, even if allowance is made for the many instances when the children are legitimized by their fathers! Suicide by women and in factories are to a large extent traceable to the destitution and wretchedness in which the women are left when deserted. The trials for child murder cast a dark and instructive picture upon the canvas. To cite just one case, in the fall of 1894, a young girl, who, eight days after her delivery, had been turned out of the lying-in institute in Vienna and thrown upon the streets with her child and without means, and who, in her distress and desperation, killed the infant, was sentenced to be hanged by a jury of Krems in Lower Austria. About the scamp of a father nothing was said. And how often do not similar instances occur? The seduced and outrageously deserted woman, cast helpless into the abyss of despair and shame, resorts to extreme measures; she kills the fruit of her womb, is dragged before the tribunals, is sentenced to penitentiary or the gallows. The unconscious, and actual murderer,—he goes off scot-free; marries, perchance, shortly after, the daughter of a "respectable and honest" family, and becomes a much honored, upright man. There is many a gentleman, floating about in honors and distinctions, who has soiled his honor and his conscience in this manner. Had women a word to say in legislation, much would be otherwise in this direction.

Most cruel of all, as already indicated, is the posture of French legislation, which forbids inquiry after the child's paternity, and, instead, sets up foundling asylums. The resolution on the subject, by the Convention of June 28, 1793, runs thus: "The nation takes charge of the physical and moral education of abandoned children. From that moment they will be designated only by the term of orphans. No other designation shall be allowed." Quite convenient for the men, who, thereby, shifted the obligation of the individual upon the collective, to the end of escaping exposure before the public and their wives. In all the provinces of the land, orphan and foundling asylums were set up. The number of orphans and foundlings ran up, in 1893, to 130,945, of which it was estimated that each tenth child was legitimate, but not wanted by its parents. But no particular care was taken of these children, and the mortality among them was, accordingly, great. In that year, fully 59 per cent., i. e., more than one-half died during the first year of their lives; 78 per cent. died twelve years of age and under. Accordingly, of every 100 only 22 reached the age of twelve years and over. It is claimed that matters have in the meantime improved in those establishments.

In Austria and Italy also foundling asylums were established, and their support assumed by the State. "Ici on fait mourir les enfants" ("Here children are killed") is the inscription that a certain King is said to have recommended as fit for founding asylums. In Austria they are gradually disappearing; there are now only eight of them left; also the treatment and care of the children has considerably improved to what it was. In 1888, there were 40,865 children cared for in Austria, including Galicia; of these 10,466 were placed in public institutions, 30,399 under private care, at a joint cost of 1,317,572 florins. Mortality was slighter among the children in the public institutions than among those placed under private care. This was especially the case in Galicia. There, 31.25 per cent. of the children died during the year 1888 in the public establishments, by far more than in the public establishments of other countries; but of those under private care, 84.21 per cent. died,—a veritable mass-assassination. It almost looks as though the Polish slaughterhouse system aimed at killing off these poor little worms as swiftly as possible. It is a generally accepted fact that the percentage of deaths among children born out of wedlock is far higher than among those born in wedlock. In Prussia there died, early in the sixties, during the first year of their lives 18.23 per cent. of children born in wedlock, and 23.11 per cent. of children born out of wedlock, accordingly twice as many of the latter. In Paris there died, 100 children born in wedlock to every 130 born out of wedlock, and in the country districts 215. Italian statistics threw up this picture: Out of every 10,000 live-births, there died—

	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.
One month old	751	741	724	698	696
Two to twelve months	1,027	1,172	986	953	1,083
Illegitimate children:					
One month old	2,002	2,043	2,120	2,107	1,813
Two to twelve months	1,387	1,385	1,457	1,457	1,353

The difference in the mortality between legitimate and illegitimate children is especially noticeable during the first month of life. During that period the mortality of children born out of wedlock is on an average twice as large as that of those born in wedlock. Improper

attention during pregnancy, weak delivery and poor care afterwards, are the very simple causes. Likewise do maltreatment and the infamous practice and superstition of "making angels" increase the victims. The number of still-births is twice as large with illegitimate than with legitimate children, due, probably, mainly to the efforts of some of the mothers to bring on the death of the child during pregnancy. The illegitimate children who survive revenge themselves upon society for the wrong done them by furnishing an extraordinary large percentage of criminals of all degrees.

Yet another evil, frequently met, must also be shortly touched upon. Excessive sexual indulgence is infinitely more harmful than too little. A body, misused by excess, will go to pieces, even without venereal diseases. Impotence, barrenness, spinal affections, insanity, at least intellectual weakness, and many other diseases, are the usual consequences. Temperance is as necessary in sexual intercourse as in eating and drinking, and all other human wants. But temperance seems difficult to youth. Hence the large number of "young old men" in the higher walks of life especially. The number of young and old rakes is enormous, and they require special irritants, excess having deadened and surfeited them. Many, accordingly, lapse into the unnatural practices of Greek days. The crime against nature is to-day much more general than most of us dream of: upon that subject the secret archives of many a Police Bureau could publish frightful information. But not among men only, among women also have the unnatural practices of old Greece come up again with force. Lesbian love, or Sapphism, is said to be quite general among married women in Paris; according to Taxal,²² it is enormously in practice among the prominent ladies of that city. In Berlin, one-fourth of the prostitutes are said to practice "tribal"; but also in the circles of our leading dames there are not wanting disciples of Sappho. Still another unnatural gratification of the sexual instinct manifests itself in the violation of children, a practice that has increased greatly during the last thirty years.²³ In France, during 1851-1875, 17,656 cases of this nature were tried. The colossal number of these crimes in France is intimately connected with the two-child system, and with the abstinence of husbands towards their wives. To the German population also we find people recommending Malthusianism, without stopping to think what the sequels will be. The so-called "liberal professions," to whom belong mainly the members of the upper classes, furnish in Germany about 3.6 per cent. of the ordinary criminals, but they furnish 13 per cent. of the criminals indicted for violation of children; and this latter percentage would be still higher were there not in those circles ample means to screen the criminals, so that, probably, the majority of cases remain undiscovered. The revelations made in the eighties by the "Pall Mall Gazette" on the violation of children in England, are still fresh in the public memory.

The moral progress of this our best of all possible worlds is recorded in the below tables for England, the "leading country in civilization." In England there were:—

Year.	Immoral Acts Deaths from Violence.	Syphilis.	Insane.
1861	290	1,345	39,647
1871	315	1,995	56,755
1881	376	2,334	73,113
1892	466	2,478	74,842
1893	390	76,763
1894	510
Increase since 1861.			
	82 per cent.	84 per cent.	95 per cent.

A frightful increase this is of the phenomena that point to the rising physical and moral ruin of English society.

The best statistical record of venereal diseases and their increase is kept by Denmark, Copenhagen especially. Here venereal diseases, with special regard to syphilis, developed as follows:—

Year.	Population.	Venereal Diseases.	Of these, Syphilis.
1874	196,000	5,505	836
1879	227,000	6,290	934
1883	290,000	9,325	1,806

Among the personnel of the navy in Copenhagen, the number of venereal diseases increased 1224 per cent. during the period mentioned; in the army and for the same period, 227 per cent.²⁴ And how stands it in Paris? From the year 1872 to the year 1888, the number of persons treated for venereal diseases in the hospitals Du Millé, de Lourcine and de St. Louis was 118,223, of which 60,438 suffered of syphilis and 57,795 of other venereal affections. Besides these, of the number of outside persons who applied to the clinics of the said three hospitals, there was a yearly average of 16,385 venereals.²⁵

We have seen how, as a result of our social conditions, vice, excesses, wrongs and crimes of all sorts are bred. All society is kept in a state of unrest. Under such a state of things woman is the chief sufferer.

Numerous women realize this and seek redress. They demand, first of all, economic self-support and independence; they demand that woman be admitted, as well as man, to all pursuits that her physical and mental powers and faculties qualify her for; they demand, especially, admission to the occupations that are designated with the term "liberal professions." Are the efforts in these directions justified? Are they practical? Would they mend matters? These are questions that now crowd forward.

CHAPTER I.

WOMAN'S POSITION AS A BREADWINNER; HER INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES; DARWINISM AND THE CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

The endeavor of woman to secure economic self-support and personal independence has, to a certain degree, been recognized as legitimate by bourgeois society, the same as the endeavor of the workingman after greater freedom of motion. The principal reason for such acquiescence lies in the class interests of the bourgeoisie itself. The bourgeoisie, or capitalist class, requires the free and unrestricted purveyance of male and female labor-power for the fullest development of production. In even tempo with the perfection of machinery, and technique; with the subdivision of labor into single acts requiring ever less technical experience and strength; with the sharpening of the competitive warfare between industry and agriculture, and between whole regions—country against country, continent against continent—the labor-power of woman comes into ever greater demand.

The special causes, from which flows this ever increasing enlistment of woman in ever increasing numbers, have been detailed above in extenso. Woman is increasingly employed along with man, or in his place, because her material demands are less than those of man. A circumstance predicated upon her very nature as a sexual being, forces woman to proffer herself cheaper. More frequently, on an average, than man, woman is subject to physical derangements, that cause an interruption of work, and that, in view of the combination and organization of labor, in force to-day in large production, easily interfere with the steady course of production. Pregnancy and lying in prolong such pauses.

The employer turns the circumstance to advantage, and recoups himself doubly for the inconveniences, that these disturbances put him to, with the payment of much lower wages.

Moreover—as may be judged from the quotation on page 90, taken from Marx's "Capital"—the work of married women has a particular fascination for the employer. The married woman is, as working-woman, much more "attentive and docile" than her unmarried sister. Thought of her children drives her to the utmost exertion of her powers, in order to earn the needed livelihood; accordingly, she submits to many an imposition that the unmarried woman does not. In general, the working-woman ventures only exceptionally to join her fellow-toilers in securing better conditions of work. That raises her value in the eyes of the employer; not infrequently she is even a trump card in his hands against refractory workingmen. Moreover, she is endowed with great patience, greater dexterity of fingers, a better developed artistic sense, the latter of which renders her fitter than man for many branches of work.

These female "virtues" are fully appreciated by the virtuous capitalist, and thus, along with the development of industry, woman finds from year to year an ever wider field for her application—but, and this is the determining factor, without tangible improvement to her social condition.

If woman labor is employed, it generally sets male labor free. The displaced male labor, however, wishes to live; it proffers itself for lower wages; and the proffer, in turn, re-acts depressingly upon the wages

Lombrosa and Ferrero, *sic supra*.

²² "Die verdeckten Krankheiten in Dänemark," Dr. Giese.

²³ Report of the Sanitary Commission on the organization of sanitation relative to prostitution in Paris, addressed to the Municipal Council of Paris, 1890.

of the working-woman. The reduction of wages thus turns into an endless screw, that, due to the constant revolutions in the technique of the labor-process, is set rotating all the more swiftly, seeing that the said technical revolutions, through the savings of labor-power, set also female labor free,—all of which again increases the supply of hands. New industries somewhat counteract the constant supply of relatively superfluous labor-power, but is not strong enough to establish lasting improvement. Every rise of wages above a certain measure causes the employer to look to further improvements in his plant, calculated to substitute will-less, automatic mechanical devices for human hands and human brain. At the start of capitalist production, hardly any but male labor confronted male labor in the labor-market; now sex is played against sex, and, further along the line, age against age. Woman displaces man, and in her turn, woman is displaced by younger folk and child-labor. Such is the "Moral Order" in modern industry.

The endeavor, on the part of employers, to extend the hours of work, with the end in view of pumping more surplus values out of their employees, is made easier to them, thanks to the slighter power of resistance possessed by women. Hence the phenomenon that, in the textile industries, for instance, in which women frequently constitute far more than one-half of the total labor employed, the hours of work are everywhere longest. Accustomed from home to the idea that her work is "never done," woman allows the increased demands to be placed upon her without resistance. In other branches, as in the millinery trade, the manufacture of flowers, etc., wages and hours of work deteriorate through the taking home of extra tasks, at which the women sit till midnight, and even later, without realizing that they thereby only compete against themselves, and, as a result, earn a sixteen-hour workday what they would have made in a regular ten-hour day.²⁶ In what measure female labor has increased in the leading industrial countries may appear from the below sets of tables. We shall start with the leading industrial country of Europe,—England. The last census furnishes this picture:

Year.	Total Persons Employed.	Males.	Females.
1871	11,593,466	8,270,186	3,223,280
1881	11,187,564	7,783,646	3,403,918
1891	12,893,434	8,883,254	4,016,230

Accordingly, within twenty years, the number of males employed increased 613,968, or 7.9 per cent.; the number of females, however, by 692,050, or 20.9 per cent. It is especially to be observed in this table that, in 1881, a year of crisis, the number of males employed fell off by 48,540, and the number of females increased by 80,638. The increase of females at the cost of male persons employed is thus emphatically brought to light. But within the increasing number of female employees itself a change is going on: *younger forces are displacing the older*. It transpired that in England, during the years 1881-1891, female labor-power of the age 10 to 45 had increased, while that above 45 had decreased.

Industries in which female exceeded considerably the number of male labor, were mainly the following:

Industries.	Females.	Males.

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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN 1833.....	2,000
IN 1852.....	21,157
IN 1896.....	36,564
IN 1900.....	34,191
IN 1902.....	53,617

A RUSSIAN MARTYR.

The story that comes from St. Petersburg, via London, concerning a Captain in the army who, at the recent strikes in Kieff, countermanded the order of his superior to fire on the strikers, whereupon he was immediately arrested, court-martialed and sentenced to death, reads like a page of days when religions are crystallized into shape at the heat of deeds of astounding abnegation, purity of purpose, singleness of design, and unswerving rectitude. The incident is a symptom of the times.

For generations people have been singing the psalms of the psalmist and doing the acts of Senni preaching the admonitions of the Prophets and indulging in the ways of the wicked; professing Christianity and practising deviltry. The days of this generation promise to end the hypocrisy. A keener spirit, awakened by fuller knowledge, is rising to demand of man that he practise what he preaches; that he conform his conduct with his professions—and insisting that he do at the cost of being whipped out of the temple of humanity that he desecrates with his criminal conduct.

Whatever the reason may or may not have been at one time for looking upon the maxim "Do unto others as you would be done unto" as beyond human reach, that time has passed. The maxim can be practised to-day. To-day there is wealth enough producible for all. No longer need any part of humanity pine and serve as foot-stools for some other part of humanity to rise above the brute. The present material economic facts have created an atmosphere that is suffocating the Philistine and that is producing a higher sense of duty. Simultaneously the martyr to the sunblister human aspirations is fructifying the ground with his blood. The Russian Captain in question knew that his devotion to the higher law meant certain death. He was not earthly wise, but he was pure. When he ordered the troops not to fire upon their "poor, starving brothers" he was the mouth-piece to the spiritual breath of the material conditions that have given rise to Socialism.

Not forever, nor for long will the spiritual breath and the physical power, need to hurl Enthroned Crime from its place of power, stand divorced, bringing on death to the dislocated members.

THERE IS PROGRESS.

There's none ever feared that the truth should be heard
But them whom the truth wad indeite.

Readers of *The People* have seen in the correspondence column the letter of Helen A. Gray, Librarian of the New London, Ct., Public Library, to a citizen of that city who presented to the library three works of Karl Marx—"Capital," "Wage, Labor and Capital" and "The Paris Commune"—and Engels' "Socialism From Utopia to Science." The Librarian informed the donor that the "Book Committee, upon looking through the books," declined to accept them, and they were returned.

The four works donated to the New London Public Library are classic works; what is more, they are classic works produced by a Movement that is now avowedly respected as the most gigantic and significant of all ages. Even those who may disagree with it, if at all informed, concede the point; and they recognize that it is a Movement that cannot be ignored and must be confronted. Would not the conclusion be that an institution styling itself a public library, "intended to disseminate and cultivate knowledge" would be glad of the acquisition? Socialism is either right or wrong. If wrong, is it not well that it be thoroughly understood? All this notwithstanding, the New London Public Library

rejects the books. What does that mean? Whatever it may mean in detail, it records progress. Progress? Is it a recognizing of progress to check information? Let's see.

What was the general attitude in Connecticut herself about two generations ago when Abolitionism, the Movement then on the rise and, like Socialism, destined within shortly to sweep the country, was struggling to make itself heard, and was beating its way against a storm of interested prejudice and defamation? Comparing the experience of Abolitionism then with that of Socialism to-day, it will be easy to tell whether progress has been made or not.

Events ever cluster around a name that typifies the time. The early attitude of Connecticut towards Abolitionism is best typified by that State's conduct towards one of her noblest daughters—Prudence Crandall. When it did not yet "pay" in Connecticut to be just to the negro, Prudence Crandall taught negro children, and for this act of patriotic humanity she was persecuted out of the State: Prudence Crandall was boycotted with vindictive cruelty, even water was denied her! The intellectual and moral predecessors of the "patriotic bevy" that presides to-day over the Public Library of New London were ready to commit homicide upon a defenceless woman for no other reason than that their standard of morality lagged behind hers.

Is there no progress? To-day the donor of the "Socialist books" is not hounded from house and home out of New London; his life is left unassailed; only the printed matter that he donates is refused. Compared to the fate that a few centuries ago would have been meted out by the ruling powers, both to the gift and the giver of a new idea—both being certain to be burned at the stake; compared even with the experience of Prudence Crandall in that very Connecticut; who will deny that there is progress registered?

SURPRISES."

"When certain of the Omaha comrades were accused of being De Leonistic, to my surprise, instead of denying the charge, they frankly confessed it"—Carl D. Thompson in "Seattle Socialist," Aug. 9, 1903.

Several months ago in answer to some correspondents, together with some silly articles in the privately owned press of the so-called Socialist, alias Social-Democratic party, we had occasion to place that Movement upon the dissecting table. The facts, thrown up by the dissecting knife and revealed by the lens, showed that the leaders of that Movement—some of them visionary men, others the chums of the labor fakirs—while bent upon mischief, were accomplishing good. Giddy-headed venturing where angels dared not tread, and supplied with infinitely more cash to keep agitators on the field, they had facilities infinitely greater than the Socialist Labor Party to reach infinitely larger crowds. This notwithstanding, they were but digging the grave of their own visionariness or their own malign purpose of smashing the S. L. P. Obedient to a law they could not escape, try as they might, their work consisted mainly in introducing the S. L. P. to the thoughtful and alone valuable portion of their audiences. These thoughtful elements were bound to do their own thinking, and the result would inevitably be that they would cast off the "broad" and "tolerant" counterfeit Socialist concern as a fraud or an insanity and develop into the thorough-paced "narrowness," "intolerance," etc., for which the S. L. P. is known and which virtues have been summed up in the term "DeLeonism." In short, they would graduate into the S. L. P.

The analysis then made was even then amply justified from the facts in existence, and the theory that flowed from them. But not all categories of facts have the same weight with all sorts of persons. A hint, to a gentleman, is enough; a man of coarser fibre needs a box on the ear to understand. The fact of the earth being round was enough for a Columbus to conclude that land lay westward; logs of wood and other grosser evidence were needed to enlist the support of a Ferdinand. In economics, the law of exchange value was ample to reveal to a Marx the downfall of capitalism; to the less sagacious masses, nothing short of the physical breakdown of their illusions could clarify their mind's eye. In the matter of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic movement, Mr. Thompson above quoted stands in the shoes of the man whose economic illusions must first tumble down upon his skull before he knows better; of the man who had first to see and touch the

of foreign timber before he could accept the conclusion of the premises which he himself did not question touching the roundness of the earth; finally he stands also in the shoes of the man with whom gentle hints won't do, but whose ears must first be soundly cuffed.

One may well imagine Mr. Thompson's surprise—he need not assure the public of it—at the frank pride with which "certain of his Omaha comrades" are now admitting their S. L. P. There is for his poor opinion of human nature, that it can long remain duped by lies and slanders or captivated by tomfoolery, still ruder surprises in store.

THE SUICIDE CLUB.

In the course of last week's issues The People published two articles on the strike or threatened strike on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. Of the two articles one was an editorial giving the detailed and exact figures of the branches and numbers of men involved in the threatened strike, and of the changed scale of wages effected by the settlement. The other article was a letter from a New Haven trainman confirming and supplementing the information contained in the first.

From these two sources the following facts appear of record:

1. The branches of the service involved were the conductors and the brakemen.

2. These forces are divided into shifts, "tricks" in railroad parlance—a first, a middle and a third "trick."

3. Before the settlement, the conductors on all the three "tricks" received \$2.75.

4. After the settlement, the conductors on the first "tricks" received \$2.80; the conductors on the middle "tricks" received \$2.85; and the conductors on the third "tricks" received \$2.90—that is, an increase of 5, 10 and 15 cents respectively.

5. Before the settlement, the brakemen on all the three "tricks" received \$1.95.

6. After the settlement, the brakemen on the first "tricks" received \$2.20; the brakemen on the middle "tricks" received \$2.25; and the brakemen on the third "tricks" received \$2.30—that is an increase of 25, 30 and 35 cents respectively.

7. Before the settlement there was 1 conductor to each "trick."

8. After the settlement, there remained, of course, the 1 conductor to each "trick."

9. Before the settlement there were 4 brakemen to each "trick."

10. After the settlement there were only 3 brakemen to each "trick."

That much for the facts and figures that appear of record in the settlement. Now for the figures and facts that flow therefrom.

1. The capitalist, as was pointed out in the previous editorial, and without increasing his arduous labors of doing nothing, has an increased gain on all the "tricks" and crews of \$133.05 a day.

2. The conductors, likewise without any increase of work, have an increase each ranging from 5 to 15 cents apiece.

3. The brakemen, differently from the conductors and still more differently from the capitalists, suffer the complete decapitation of one of their members, and while the survivors receive in wages an increase ranging from 25 to 35 cents, they have to do intenser work, the work of their decapitated fellow workingmen.

4. Seeing that the surviving 3 brakemen of the former 4 on each "trick" have now to do the work of their decapitated brother, it follows that the volume of intensified labor thrown upon these survivors is one-fourth more than before.

5. Seeing that the wages received by the decapitated brother was \$1.95, it follows that translated into money, one-fourth of his work was nearly 49 cents.

6. Seeing that the survivors now receive for that increase of one-third of work 25, instead of that 49 cents, on the first "tricks"; 30, instead of that 49 cents, on the middle "tricks"; and 35, instead of that 49 cents, on the third "tricks," it follows that, individually, they are now squeezed out of 24, 19 and 14 cents respectively; and that the aggregate of all these squeezings for all the "tricks" and crews, for the membership of the Union, represents the amount of increased unpaid labor, increased marrow and bone whacked out of the working class.

Supplementing these conclusions and the facts they flow from with the further fact that the affliction of these decapitations and intensified labor was inflicted upon the union of trainmen under the presidency of a committee of their organization, who drew \$5 a day, and that, all told, cost the working class about \$2,000, the question comes, Who was "settled" by the "settlement"?

Robert Louis Stevenson has a story entitled the "Suicide Club." People who joined it paid £40. The amount was mainly pocketed by the President, who, by means of a pack of cards designated each evening the member who was to die and the one who was to kill him. The President did a good business until one of the members put the quietus upon him and broke up the club. What, if not a "Suicide Club," is an organization such as that of these rakes; and what else are the labor fakirs, the presiding genuses of these bodies, but imitations of the scamp President in Stevens' story?

Police Board refused to stop the assembling of the strikers and their sympathizers, and the city was on the verge of anarchy. The Employers' Council then appealed to the Governor for protection.

The government must be a working class government, run from top to bottom by workingmen for workingmen. It must be Socialist, not capitalist, to be of working class benefit.

The revolutionary socialist movement of Russia is developing great strength, so much so that the Minister of the Interior, M. de Plehve, has found it necessary to create a so-called independent labor party in order to seize the guidance of the working class movement. This is made clear in the current number of the Prussian periodical, European, which contains an article by Professor Ernest Tarboreich of the College of Social Sciences, who was recently intrusted with a scientific mission to Asia.

Tarboreich finds that Russia is in a most serious condition from a social and economic standpoint. The best informed men whom he met confessed that they constantly apprehend the gravest events. The death struggle that is being waged between the past and the future in the empire of the Czar is daily becoming more fierce and sanguinary. The press that is circulated there is full of intelligence concerning strikes in the Caucasus, Sebastopol, Odessa, Kieff and other places. The whole of South and Southwest Russia is disorganized. Tarboreich deals with the part played by M. de Plehve, Russian Minister of the Interior, in the events which have well nigh brought to a standstill commercial and industrial life and traffic in the naptha districts of the Black Sea ports and all along the Southern and Southeastern railways. He finds that the Minister of the Interior, through certain agents, has tried to seize the guidance of the working-class movement by the creation of a so-called independent labor party, which has been used between the past and the future in the empire of the Czar is daily becoming more fierce and sanguinary. The press that is circulated there is full of intelligence concerning strikes in the Caucasus, Sebastopol, Odessa, Kieff and other places. The whole of South and Southwest Russia is disorganized. Tarboreich deals with the part played by M. de Plehve, Russian Minister of the Interior, in the events which have well nigh brought to a standstill commercial and industrial life and traffic in the naptha districts of the Black Sea ports and all along the Southern and Southeastern railways. He finds that the Minister of the Interior, through certain agents, has tried to seize the guidance of the working-class movement by the creation of a so-called independent labor party, which has been used

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CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Why Do Capitalist Corporations Advertise So Extensively in the Social Democratic Herald?

To the Daily and Weekly People—The enclosed circular and reply thereto may be of interest to the readers of The People. The reply was sent over a month ago but, up to date, has not been published in the Social Democratic Herald. Yours fraternally,

Frank R. Wilke.

Milwaukee, Aug. 15.

[Enclosed Circular.]

SECOND ANNUAL MONSTER PICNIC of the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN.

"At Schlitz Park, Milwaukee, Sunday, July 19, 1903.

H. W. Bistorius, Sec'y Picnic Committee.

J. Hunger, Treas. Picnic Committee.

614 State st., Milwaukee, Wis.

Telephone, Main 2394.

"Dear Comrade: We enclose here with 100 tickets for the monster picnic given by the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin, which please dispose of as soon as possible. The proceeds of this affair will be used to pay the campaign debt of last fall and to assist the "Social Democratic Herald," the official paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and the Wisconsin Federation of Labor.

"Make all money orders, drafts or checks payable to H. W. Bistorius, secretary. As the mail received at the office is heavy and as there are various departments, we request you to use the enclosed return envelope on any business pertaining to the picnic. Don't send letters containing on one sheet of paper matter relating to the picnic, Social Democratic Herald, State Secretary, etc. Send your communications to each on a separate sheet. It will save us lots of work and you lots of annoyance.

"Save your tickets, they are numbered. Fifty dollars have been set aside for prizes. Each ticket has a chance to win one of these prizes. A valuable prize will also be given the comrade selling the greatest number of tickets.

"We are endeavoring to secure reduced rates for this occasion on all railroads entering Milwaukee. Indications lead to the conclusion that we will be successful.

"Among the strong attractions will be unique games and contests, a grand concert, dancing, and last but not least, Eugene V. Debs, America's most eloquent labor orator, will speak.

"Announcement of reduced rates will be made in the Herald. Just watch the paper closely. We will keep you fully informed. Our intention is to make this such a formidable demonstration as to make capitalism in Wisconsin tremble. To do so, we must have your co-operation. Send in your \$10 for the tickets by return mail. Don't be satisfied at that, order some more. It's not for any particular man's personal advantage but to boost the best cause on earth, the cause of Socialism.

"No separate receipt will be sent, but all money received will be acknowledged in the Herald. Who will be the first? Who will send in the greatest amount? Now for one long pull, one strong pull, one pull all together.

"With Socialist greetings, we are

"Yours, for a rousing picnic success,

H. W. Bistorius, Secretary.

"General Picnic Committee: J. Buchel, J. Hunger, Gustav Hartman, T. Reynolds, H. Taves, J. Doerfler, Jr., O. Saugstad, H. Wachtel, E. T. Melms, M. Gorecki, W. P. Corrigan, E. H. Rooney, Herman Werner, J. Rummel, J. Hassmann, Tony Hesse, Frank Tofelski, R. Buech, F. Boness, W. R. Tewz, F. Lehmann, F. Buenger, P. Bringe; refreshment committee, Robt. Buech, chairman; reception committee, H. W. Bistorius, chairman; floor committee, H. Taves, chairman; privileges committee, F. Boness, chairman; press committee, H. W. Bistorius, chairman; order committee, O. Saugstad, chairman; printing committee, H. Wachtel, chairman; games and badges committee, J. Doerfler, chairman; literature and music committee, E. T. Melms, chairman; stock committee, Tony Hesse, chairman."

[Enclosed Reply]

"Milwaukee, July 10, 1903.

"Mr. H. W. Bistorius,

"614 State street, city.

"Sir: Your circular letter and tickets for the so-called monster picnic sent to Brother Otto Wilke of the Milwaukee Printing Pressmen's Union No. 7, were given to me, at their last meeting, to answer. I herewith return tickets prompted to do so for the following reasons:

"First—The Milwaukee Printing Pressmen's Union cannot constitutionally support any political party.

"Second—There are evidences which lead us to believe that the Social Democrats are not sincere in their promises to the wage-workers, for if you still have debts from last fall's campaign how can you consistently give your support to the now striking tanners when you have nothing to give? Is this done as a grand stand play for political purposes?

"Third—if you are going to make the capitalist of Wisconsin tremble why should they give you reduced railroad rates to boom a so-called enemy of theirs? Or, are the capitalists of Wisconsin supporting the Social Democrats?

"Fourth—Another evidence that all your so-called 'trembling of the capitalists' is nothing but an inflated expression of the Social Democrats can be seen from the ads now appearing in (your official organ) the Social Democratic Herald of some of the worse labor skimmers in Wisconsin.

"I shall mention but a few. There is the ad of Barrett's Department Store, known as the 'Red Kindergarten,' where children are exploited. Then comes the ad of the Boston Store, also an exploiter of children. Then the ad of the Pabst Brewing Co., who made their millions of dollars by robbing the members of the working class. The Milwaukee Gas Light Co. (whose plant you wish to buy), advertises in the Herald and is known as an exploiter of anybody who has ever worked for them. These are the capitalists that are 'trembling' for you, yet advertise in a so-called working-man's paper. If that is the mission of the Social Democrats, to further the interests of the labor skimmers, then we do not want anything to do with them.

"Again, if your advertising solicitor were to tell the truth about Socialism, which as we understand it, means the 'abolition of wage-slavery,' he would not get a one inch ad. In other words, he, as well as the Social Democrats, sacrificed principle for business and that business is to mislead the working class. If you possess the courage, publish this in your official organ and let your readers know what other wage-slaves think about the same. I am

"Yours for class-conscious Socialism as expounded and taught by the Socialist Labor Party.

Frank R. Wilke.

1420 Center st., Milwaukee, Wis.

Christian Science vs. Socialism.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Section Troy held another highly successful meeting at the old stand last evening, at which Comrades Passanno and Long spoke to a large audience of workers. We sold 25 copies of The Weekly People and 12 pamphlets, most of which were "Two Pages From Roman History."

A follower of Mrs. Eddy, that arch grafted, who has considerable of a following here, asked "Which is the stronger, mind or matter?" This freak is an aristocrat of labor, who would delude the worker into the belief that bright thoughts will produce bright realities, whereas it is bright realities which produce bright thoughts, since mind is but the reflex of material conditions.

This freak wishes to have those who hear him believe that what the workers' need is not an education in economics, but an education that will lift them from the necessity of being manual laborers into mental workers, forgetting that the worker does not go without this education because he wishes to, but because his condition is such that he can't help going without it.

Again if we were all to do as he preaches, that is, become mental workers, the transformed manual workers would still be wage slaves, and their commodity, labor power, would be sold in the labor market at its cost of reproduction just the same as it is to-day; and by reason of there being more of a supply, due to the transformation from manual to mental labor, than a demand for mental workers, their price in the labor market would fall to—if the supply was big enough—the average wage paid to the manual laborer. This we know, a certain kind of mental labor, where the supply is much greater than the demand, has already gone down to, and in some instances, below the average wage paid to manual labor.

These are the principal points that were brought to the attention of the audience—who saw them—when we showed this freak up as an enemy of the workers because he would have them get their minds on something that would not benefit them, while at the same time keeping their mind off their real condition. Exit "Mind and Matter," a mad man.

The Section held a very successful meeting in Watervliet, Monday, and Rensselaer on Tuesday. They propose holding another meeting in Cohoes tomorrow evening, and one in Rensselaer on Tuesday.

Cohoes now has a Central Fakiration of Labor, which was organized last Thursday evening by the shining lights of Cohoes's fakirkdom.

A. H. B.

Cohoes, N. Y., Aug. 16.

[Enclosed Circular]

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"Mr. H. W. Bistorius,

"614 State street, city.

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Then, like now, our strength will not

depend upon numbers, but upon concerted action. To enable us to act concerted we must be posted. So start in to read the Daily. Fraternally,

G. A. Jenning.

East St. Louis, Ill., Aug. 14.

Westerners, Attention!

To the Daily and Weekly People—it has been my privilege to spend several weeks on the fighting line in New York City. I have found that the exceptional success of Section New York in outdoor agitation is the result of careful study of means and methods. Possibly a few pointers to Western sections and agitation committees from a Westerner may be useful. The results of my observations may be best stated in five suggestions:

1. Don't, forever stand on one street corner to do your talking. Give the workers of other districts a chance to learn our principles. The Caliphs did not conquer Spain by fighting at Mecca. Any one of twenty-five new fields may prove more fruitful than the little plot where you have plowed all season.

2. Know your city. Where are the Irish? Take a large package of "Erin's Hope" along. Is there an Italian settlement? Send the Italian comrades over to speak their own language to them. If you are going among the aristocratic, four-dollar-a-day ironworkers, your talk must be somewhat different than that of last evening, to the women and children of the shoe factory.

3. Use your soap-box for kindling wood. It suggests that you are going to sell hair tonic at 10¢ a package. Get a portable steel stand which you can fold up and carry about in one hand. Send to New York, if necessary, to secure it. It will be well worth the cost. Such a stand makes speaking easy. Furthermore, it gives dignity to the speaker. A crowd gathers while you put it up.

4. Make a neat white banner bearing the arm and hammer. It red or blue above this device have printed: Socialist Labor Party; below it a motto: "Workingmen of all countries unite," for instance. This banner is essential. Newcomers constantly join the crowd and see the banner. You need not shout yourself hoarse and tire the others by telling them who and what you are. Put the banner where all can see it. Now seven out of every ten will forget during the night what you have said. When they wake in the morning they will see that arm and hammer; also on election day.

5. Have a chairman to introduce the speakers. This adds more dignity. American workingmen are apt to come close to an organization whose representatives go out and hold public meetings for citizens. Everyone will despise a crowd who pop up, one after another, and harangue the "push." The chairman should announce other meetings, advertise literature and take names of sympathizers. Let the speaker talk about his subject and then stop.

6. Persuade as many comrades as possible to attend these meetings. They gain enthusiasm themselves; some of them will become speakers; above all, they help the crowd to see that it is an institution and a movement which speaks, not an individual.

Next week brings us to Chittenango, and we have hopes we'll meet with the same success there, as the economic pressure don't miss the wage slaves of one town any more than another. We find them all ripe to adopt our principles as soon as they find out the truth, so comrades up and at them! Down with kangs and Capitalism, and let them know the truth as advocated by the S. L. P. J. J. C.

Frank A. Bohn.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

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A. S. L. P. Longshoremen on the P. S. S. Co. Strike.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Longshoremen's Union, No. 306, of the International Longshoremen's Association, is on strike at the Pacific Coast Steamship dock. A question of wages is involved. The men want to cents an hour for overtime, while the company claims it is paying a "fair scale."

All seagoing vessels that enter this port, with the exception of the boats of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, pay 40 cents per hour for day work—i.e., between 7 a. m. and 6 p. m.—and 60 cents per hour for night work, holidays and Sundays. Now, the trouble with the P. C. S. S. Co. is of long standing. The longshoremen have asked time and time again to have this company pay the union wages (they pay only 40 cents per hour for night, Sunday and holidays).

This P. C. S. S. Co. is a powerful organization, controlled by J. J. Hill, of the Northern Securities Company. It claims it cannot afford to pay the 60 cents. This company has practically a monopoly of the trade on this coast from Panama to Alaska, doing an immense trade; so, of course, being in a secure position they can dictate terms.

I do not expect for a minute that we will win the strike, for the simple reason that the P. C. S. S. Co., having all the powers of government upon their side, have everything their own way to win, while we have the vast army of unemployed in their economic ignorance to fight against it; also the police, militia and Federal troops against us, while the scabs have all these on their side.

Tell the men (who are as yet ignorant of their great power, the ballot) that the strike is an ancient weapon, to be used only in case of a last resort, that to win we must go to the ballot box at every election, and cast our ballot for the party of our class, the Socialist Labor Party, and that until we capture the powers of government at the ballot box, we will continue to lose strikes, through our masters' powerful aids, the policeman's club, the bayonet of the militia, and the courts, via their injunctions.

A. H. B.

Cohoes, N. Y., Aug. 16.

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Finds He Must Have The Daily People to Keep Posted.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Comrade Fresh, in subscribing for The Daily People, says he needs it to keep up to date. So say I. Every member of the S. L. P. should be a reader of The Daily People. I have been a reader of it since the very first copy; and, although it gets here two days late, I would rather miss a meal than miss a daily.

The Weekly is no doubt a good paper to develop the revolutionary spirit of the working class and lead it in the right direction, but an S. L. P. man to get the tidings from the firing line at the earliest possible moment and to get them all (for many are crowded out of the Weekly), he needs the Daily.

Comrades, we must bear in mind that the S. L. P. of to-day is only child's play to compare with the storms ahead.

Then, like now, our strength will not

Fellow workers, arouse yourself! Get out of the capitalist nightmare. Post yourself, and think for yourself. When this is done, march to the ballot box and vote for the party of our class, the Socialist Labor Party. I remain a fighter for my class and the fighting S. L. P. Fraternally,

W. A. Herron.

Tacoma, Wash., Aug. 9.

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Endorse Article on Lancaster Mills.

To the Daily and Weekly People—I was glad to receive the first copy of the Weekly People—that of August 1, concerning the article entitled "In Yankee Land," showing how the workers in the Lancaster Mills are treated, and as one of them I can say it is all true. It is the best write-up I have seen for a long time. Send me five copies of the Weekly People of August 1 for distribution.

A. A.

Clinton, Mass., Aug. 15.

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Socialism in the Interior of New York State.

To the Daily and Weekly People—Socialism is being adopted by the wage slaves in some of the small-cities and villages in the interior of this State. These wage slaves seem to be ripe to discard the old parties. For the benefit of the comrades, we will let them know what the workman in the country towns think of Socialism.

As our work of advertising brings us to different places, Comrade Coffin and myself thought it a good opportunity to do some agitation for the S. L. P., as it is something new to the workman in those districts. Starting out in Camden three weeks ago we opened a meeting on the public square, having a poster placed there all day, announcing our meeting. We started to speak without any listeners. As the wage workers had no conception of our theories there was none present except those who were passing by and who stopped to listen to what we had to say. Before we had finished speaking, we had over one hundred listeners and not a few of them remarked that we had opened their eyes.

In closing we distributed fifty leaflets where the report appeared. And the date is fresh, within the last three months. Now go ahead!

M. Y. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Contentiate these theoretical free traders. Observe them well. They will be seen to derive no little enjoyment from blowing their soap bubbles into the dimensions of a "duty to the country."

S. F., CLEVELAND, OHIO.—It is not in that threatened New Haven railroad strike alone that the capitalists indulge in such manoeuvres. They are "note shavers" all along the line. It was a "note shaving" performance that they indulged in when they raised the wages of their men after first reducing their force, saving the wages of the discharged ones and then raising the wages of the others to an amount less than that saved by discharges.

E. J. D., MARION, IND.—Shall wait for the write-up, but don't delay.

F. M., CHICAGO, ILL.—Educate persistently and consistently. The rest will come.

M. F., FITCHBURG, MASS.—War

